

Washington sends troops to Syria, moves to outflank rivals

BY PATRICIA MARSHALL

Raqqa, Syria, is increasingly the focus of competing capitalist powers seeking to defend their economic and political interests in the Middle East today. The military forces of Washington, allied with the Syrian Democratic Forces — Arab fighters opposed to the dictatorial Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and their Kurdish People’s Protection Units (YPG) allies; Damascus, Moscow, and Tehran, with its allied Hezbollah and Shiite militias; and Ankara are all jockeying for position to take the city.

Washington and its allies are the closest. The 50,000-strong Kurdish-led SDF, backed by U.S. troops and air power, is now within six miles of Raqqa, the self-proclaimed capital of the Islamic State. Washington’s goal in reaching Raqqa first — at the same time as U.S. forces and their Iraqi army allies are moving to retake Mosul — is to push out Islamic State and establish a strong military and political base of operations across the two countries.

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Trump hysteria masks rulers’ growing fear of working class



Covers of new issues of *New Republic* and *The Nation*, prominent left-liberal magazines, highlight hysteria against Donald Trump. US rulers fear working class today as discussion deepens on need to find road to fight against carnage from crisis of capitalist system.

BY SETH GALINSKY

The Bernie Sanders wing of the broken Democratic Party, the owners and editors of the *Washington Post*, *New York Times* and other liberal organs, and the middle-class left are united in a hysterical frenzy against the presidency of Donald Trump. But there’s really nothing qualitatively new or different about his administration — he’s trying to defend the interests of

Socialist Workers Party sets campaign in working class

7-week drive to spread party’s reach with ‘Militant,’ books



Socialist Workers Party candidate for NY mayor Osborne Hart, right, speaks with Janice Hoseine at March 19 march in Queens against deportations. Hoseine’s husband Ramesh Jajadhar Palaniandi was jailed by ICE March 9. “SWP calls for amnesty for all 11 million undocumented here,” Hart said. Party election campaigns help build party, win workers.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In response to increased opportunities to introduce the Socialist Workers Party to working people and discuss the party’s perspective to build a revolutionary working-class movement

to end the carnage and bloody wars resulting from the unfolding capitalist economic and political crisis, the SWP has set a seven-week party-building campaign.

The drive will run from April 1 to May 23 to boost the number of *Militant* subscribers, sales of revolutionary books published by Pathfinder Press and raise \$112,000 for the spring

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SWP: Workers need to build our own political party!

The following statement by Osborne Hart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, was released March 22.

Working people face a growing catastrophe — a “new normal” of permanent unemployment for millions. This includes attacks by the employ-

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STATEMENT

ers and their government on our wages, working conditions and rights and attacks on undocumented workers, Jews and Muslims as the rulers scapegoat sections of the working class to divide us and defend their rule.

The introduction of violence and blows to political rights reflect the deepening polarization in crisis-ridden capitalist politics. Instability and conflict among capitalist governments worldwide threaten to spin into new, more deadly wars.

Workers increasingly see that the Democrats and Republicans are the twin parties of capitalist rule, and the working class has its own party — the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP fights for a government-Continued on page 9

US ‘oversight’ board orders cuts for Puerto Rico workers to pay off bonds

BY SETH GALINSKY

Washington’s Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico is stepping up instructions to the island’s elected officials to implement crippling budget cuts and other attacks that will batter working people to keep paying the U.S. colony’s \$70 billion debt to wealthy bondholders.

The bipartisan board — “La Junta” in Spanish — was appointed by President Barack Obama with dictatorial power to overturn any economic or financial decision made by the Puerto Rican government. As a result, even opponents of independence for Puerto Rico, including those who want the island to become the 51st state, have to admit their island is a U.S. colony.

Unionists and students, opponents of Washington’s colonial rule and working-class activists in the U.S., including Osborne Hart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, have been speaking out and protesting against the attacks.

The Feb. 28 plan presented by Puerto Rican Gov. Ricardo Rosselló

freezes wages of government employees until 2020, cuts more than \$300 million a year from the University of Puerto Rico, increases property taxes and taxes on tobacco, scraps infrastructure projects, increases motor vehicle fees by 10 percent, and will

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Australia construction unionists protest attacks on workers

Rail workers in U.K. strike over safety conditions

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Anne Morrow: 20-year cadre of the Socialist Workers Party

BY ERIC SIMPSON

OAKLAND, Calif. — From the time Anne Morrow joined the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco in 1991, she committed herself to doing everything she could to build the party, Joel Britton, a leader of the SWP here, told the 41 people who came to celebrate her life and political contributions March 12. Morrow died Feb. 27 at the age of 93.

“She joined a party of industrial workers determined to build the kind of party necessary to lead the working class to power,” Britton said. “Anne’s road to her two decades of active participation in revolutionary party building was a long one, with numerous obstacles to overcome along the way.”

In 1946 Anne and her husband Bill joined the Communist Party, a Stalinist party that claimed continuity with the 1917 Russian Revolution, but in fact subordinated the interests of workers to the needs of the Soviet rulers in Moscow.

During her time in the CP, Anne Morrow worked for a year on a General Electric assembly line. This was during what’s come to be known as the McCarthyite witch-hunt, when the CP, SWP and other working-class groups came under government attack.

After years of assignments to work in various liberal causes and facing harassment from the FBI, Anne and Bill Morrow decided to break ties with the CP.

In 1960 the Morrrows were inspired by the courageous example of young people in Greensboro, North Carolina,

sitting in to desegregate Woolworth’s lunch counters. They teamed up with a Black neighboring family in Fulton, Missouri, and with their children desegregated Woolworth’s lunch counter.

Anne and Bill were introduced to the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1970s by their children Dave and Sally, who were being won to the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth organization of the SWP.

Anne and Bill had kept their past affiliation with the CP a secret from their children. Over time, the parents were won over and Bill Morrow joined the SWP in Milwaukee shortly before his death in 1983. Anne Morrow became a supporter of the SWP and then joined at the age of 67 in San Francisco.

During the 1990s she threw herself into the work of the SWP which included building opposition to U.S. imperialism’s brutal war in Iraq, supporting the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and helping to organize speaking tours for young leaders of the Cuban Revolution. She was a regular participant in plant gate sales of the *Militant*, including at the Chevron refinery in Richmond.

Deborah Liatos, organizer of the SWP branch in Los Angeles, explained that Morrow was part of the party’s efforts to build support for miners on strike at the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, when four of them came on tour to the Bay Area in 2004.

The miners, almost all originally



Above, Militant/Eric Simpson

Socialist Workers Party leader Joel Britton speaking at March 12 meeting celebrating life and political contributions of Anne Morrow, inset. She spent “two decades in revolutionary party building,” Britton said, after joining at 67.

from Mexico, were fired by Co-Op’s bosses for protesting unsafe working conditions and organizing to join the United Mine Workers of America. They spoke to hundreds of unionists in the Bay Area and raised thousands of dollars to help keep the strike going.

“A key lesson of this fight is that divisions the bosses try to create between the mostly native-born coal miners in Utah and Mexican-born coal miners quickly dissolved during the fight,” Liatos said.

“This fight also helped us see more clearly why the fight for amnesty for undocumented workers, and against raids and deportations, is key for today,” Liatos said. “Why it’s central to overcoming the divisions the bosses and their government try to create and strengthening the workers’ movement.”

“I found Anne to be disciplined, professional, competent in any responsibility she assumed,” said Barbara Bowman, who worked with Morrow in the San Francisco branch of the party and chaired the meeting, as she welcomed participants, including Morrow’s family members. “Anne was tough, she was no push over. She was hard on herself and expected the same proletarian functioning of her comrades.”

“I came to understand that Anne’s

attention to detail was a tribute to the respect she had for the serious work of the party and its cadre,” she said.

Bowman read from some of the messages sent to the meeting by those who had worked with Morrow.

“Anne understood that an organized campaign office was a reflection on the party and its political seriousness, and Anne was very convinced about the necessity of building a revolutionary party,” wrote Dennis Richter, a leader of the party in Los Angeles and its recent candidate for mayor. “A socialist revolution will not occur in the U.S. without a party built of many more cadre like Anne, for whom the party is the ‘apple of their eye.’”

Although Morrow relinquished her membership in 2011 for health considerations, she remained a loyal party supporter, making regular financial contributions. She continued to follow the party’s activity closely and greeted with enthusiasm the publication of new Pathfinder books.

Before and after the meeting, participants pored over a photo display highlighting Morrow’s political activity and that of the SWP. And they contributed more than \$1,500 to further the work of the party.

Betsey Stone contributed to this article.

THE MILITANT

Amnesty for undocumented workers!

Bosses try to create divisions between native-born and foreign-born workers. The ‘Militant’ calls for amnesty for all immigrants in U.S., opposition to raids and deportations and explains how this fight strengthens the workers’ movement.



Militant/Ellen Brickley

Immigrants and supporters rally in Albany, N.Y., March 7 for right to driver’s licenses.

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*’s views. These are expressed in editorials.

SWP sets 7-week campaign

Continued from front page
Militant Fighting Fund.

A central component of the drive will be introducing the party to workers and youth through door-to-door discussions in cities, towns and rural areas. SWP election campaigns in New York, Seattle, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Miami and elsewhere will help draw people toward the party.

The international goal is 1,100 subscriptions to the party's press and sales of 1,100 books. Three Pathfinder titles: *Are They Rich Because They're Smart?* and *The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record*, both by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, and *Is Socialist Revolution in the US Possible?* by Mary-Alice Waters are each offered at a special price of \$5 with a *Militant* subscription or \$7 if purchased without one.

Party branches are discussing and adopting quotas, and asking those they do political work with if they want to join in. Meeting these goals will help SWP members develop and deepen political relations and common activity with workers, on their doorsteps and participating in labor and social protests — for amnesty for all immigrants in the U.S., against Jew-hatred and attacks on Muslims, in support of women's right to choose abortion and against cop brutality. The door is open to join the party.

Specials on several other books are being offered: *"It's the Poor Who Face the Savagery of the US 'Justice' System": The Cuban Five Talk About Their Lives Within the US Working Class* for \$7; *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers*

Power by Barnes for \$15, and *Cuba and Angola: The War for Freedom* by Harry Villegas ("Pombo") for \$7.

The \$112,000 annual Militant Fighting Fund is needed to cover the paper's operating expenses, including rent, printing and shipping. It helps keep introductory subscriptions at the special low rate of \$5 for 12 weeks and provides low-cost and complimentary subscriptions for prisoners. It also maximizes the *Militant's* ability to field reporting trips in the U.S. and worldwide.

In addition to appealing to those who currently look to the paper for political direction, there are increasing opportunities to raise funds by asking for contributions while meeting and discussing the party with workers on their doorsteps.

The *Militant* has a growing number of subscribers among workers behind bars. The party has set a goal of getting at least 15 new *Militant* subscribers in prison.

"Every week that we receive your newspaper the *Militant*, it gives us more hope, more strength and more unity," one worker behind bars wrote recently from Florida. "I ask that you never give up your stride and that you



Militant/Edwin Fruit

Mary Martin, SWP candidate for Seattle mayor, left, and campaign supporter Leah O'Conner, far right, discuss SWP with Dennis Hanson and Lorgin Scanlon outside their apartment Jan. 21.

continue to be a tool and voice for the masses."

Mary Martin, a leader of the SWP and party candidate for mayor of Seattle, is director of the party-building campaign and Lea Sherman, the Militant business manager, is director of the Militant Fighting Fund.

To join in the campaign, get a sub-

scription, order some books or copies of the paper to sell to others, and make a contribution to the Militant Fighting Fund, get in touch with the SWP in your area listed in the directory on page 4. Checks or money orders payable to the *Militant* can be sent to 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018-2482.

Trump hysteria masks rulers fear of working class

Continued from front page

people on how to combat the effects of the slow-burning capitalist economic depression and the carnage it is causing. In these conditions, the Socialist Workers Party finds openings to do politics in the working class that it hasn't seen for decades — including among workers who voted for Trump, looking for a change from business as usual.

Workers today are less racist, less sexist and less prejudiced against their immigrant co-workers than ever before.

But most liberals and leftists are convinced Trump got elected because working people, especially workers who are Caucasian, are becoming more rightwing and bigoted. They think they're the enemy.

The April issue of the *New Republic* magazine, which prides itself as a champion of "progressive ideas," is a good example. It features a drawing of Trump as Julius Caesar on the cover with the title, "All-American Tyrant: What sets Trump Apart From History's Worst Dictators."

One article in particular stands out. Titled "Blueexit: A Modest Proposal for Separating Blue States from Red," the article by Kevin Baker takes the form of a letter to workers.

"Dear Red-State Trump voter," it begins. "For more than 80 years now, we — the residents of what some people like to call Blue America, but which I prefer to think of as the United States of We Pay Our Own Damn Way — have shelled out far more in federal tax monies than we took in. We have funded massive infrastructure projects in your rural counties, subsidized your schools and your power plants and your nursing homes, sent you entire industries, and simultaneously absorbed the most destitute, unskilled, and oppressed portions of your populations, white and black alike.

"All of which, it turns out, only left you more bitter, white, and alt-right than ever."

The benighted editors at *New Republic* believe the smarter, more cultured class of people on the East and West coasts create all value, while "you people" in between — he means "white trash" — get by "sucking at the federal teat," making up "Food Stamp Red America."

"Cities now generate the vast majority of America's wealth," Baker writes, as if cities aren't class divided, "the cities, that is, where blue folks live."

His solution: the Blue states should secede in everything but name from the United States, writing off the working class. Good luck with that!

Against the Current, the magazine of Solidarity, which describes itself as "an independent socialist organization ded-

icated to forming a broad regrouping of the U.S. Left," shares Baker's view.

A feature article by Malik Miah, "Making Trump's America Ungovernable" in its March/April issue takes aim at all workers who voted for Trump. Miah quotes liberal *Times* columnist Charles Blow, who says "Trump's America is brutal, perverse, regressive, insular and afraid. ... It is a vast expanse of darkness and desolation."

Miah says of these workers that "power, especially white power, is behind what they agree will 'make America Great Again.' African Americans, Mexicans and Muslims especially, Trump says, make America weak. Many white working people accept this dark vision of reality prompted by Trump."

"White nativism is again on the rise and more blatant under the Trump regime," Miah says.

What can be done? Convince the capitalists to get rid of Trump. "Trump is the bombastic figurehead for the super-rich who rule this country," he says. Overwhelm them with protests and civil disobedience targeting Trump and the workers who back him. "If the rhetoric and politics begin to hurt their interests," the rulers themselves will do him in.

What's the bottom line? Get the Democrats back in office.

The *Nation* magazine, which boasts that it is the "flagship" of the political left, made its March 27 issue a "Field Guide to the Resistance."

The focus of most of the groups it features is to take over the Democratic Party and rebuild it in the image of Bernie Sanders.

"Swing Left"'s goal the *Nation* says, is to sign up "progressive activists in safe congressional districts" and "ultimately flip the House to Democratic control in 2018."

The "Run for Something" group says they've signed up "almost 3,000 young candidates to run for local office."

— CALENDAR —

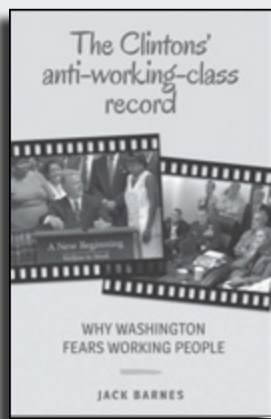
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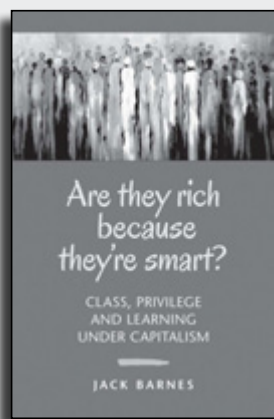
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For the first time in decades, the US rulers have begun to fear the working class

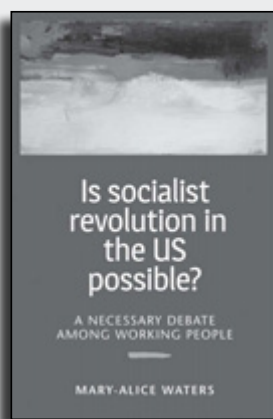
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Idaho silver miners strike over bosses' demands for deep cuts

BY CLAY DENNISON
AND EDWIN FRUIT

MULLAN, Idaho — “This is a case of corporate greed. They want to take more and give us less,” Mark “Mucker” Noble, a member of United Steelworkers Local 5114, on strike against Hecla Mining Company’s Lucky Friday Mine here, told members of the Socialist Workers Party March 18. Hecla, based in Coeur d’Alene, also has mining operations in Alaska, Mexico and Quebec, Canada. Mullan lies at the head of the Silver Valley in northern Idaho.

“I’ve invested a lifetime here,” said Noble, who has worked at the mine for 41 years. “I’ve never seen anything like what they are trying to do to us now. It’s a harsh environment down there. The miners are very productive. Everybody is on board with this.”

The company hasn’t budged since talks began prior to the contract’s expiration in May 2016. After union members rejected Hecla’s “last, best final offer” 222-0, the company announced it would impose portions of the new contract unilaterally on March 13. Workers went on strike the same day.

“Our last, best and final offer provides competitive benefits,” Phillips Baker Jr., Hecla’s president and CEO, said in a news release, “but also provides the flexibility necessary to operate the mine successfully in a changing economic and regulatory environment.”

“We’re not asking for anything new. We just want the same contract we have now,” miner Ron Sullivan said at a picket tent. “What the company pulled has brought the union together. All of our votes have been unanimous. They definitely made us a stronger union.”

“They made us mad by dragging this out for 10 months,” said Gian Ghiglieri, who also works at the mine.

“The company is asking us to give up hard won benefits that took generations to acquire,” local union President Phil Epler wrote on the local’s Facebook page. “If we choose to work under their offer we may never see what we lost again.”

Hecla wants to change the way the job bidding system, schedules and vacations are allocated, Epler told us. The bosses want to change long-established staffing

norms that miners said would cut wages and hurt safety.

“Recall rights used to be for three years after a layoff. The company wants to change it to three months,” said Epler. In recent years there have been production shutdowns, mostly due to equipment problems, that lasted about three months. This gives the bosses the ability to target certain workers and fire them.

“They also want the right to change insurance premiums and deductibles based on company profitability any time they want to,” he said.

Some 150 miners and their supporters held a fundraising spaghetti dinner at the Sunshine Inn restaurant in Kellogg, down the valley from Mullan, March 17. Twelve members of Machinists Local 86 from Spokane, Washington, attended, pledging to return the following weekend to bolster the picket line.

“I support this strike because someone has to fight the greed of the bosses,” said Kevin Winans, a worker at Triumph Composite Systems. “If not now, when?”

Canada: Join Che Guevara Brigade to see Cuba

BY JOE YOUNG

CALGARY, Alberta — The Che Guevara Volunteer Work Brigade, organized by the Canadian Network on Cuba in cooperation with ICAP, the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, will be an opportunity for Canadians “to learn first-hand and see the achievements of the Cuban revolution,” the brigade’s brochure says. The April 28-May 12 brigade will “support Cuba against the U.S. blockade and its negative impact on Cubans.”

Brigade members will visit the provinces of Holguín, Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo. In addition to volunteer work, they will meet with activists in social, political and community organizations, including labor unions, student groups, neighborhood committees, as well as farmers and academics. Brigadistas will march with Cuban workers in Holguín on May Day, the international workers day, and visit both Fidel Castro’s birthplace and resting place.

The Canadian brigade is one of many international brigades being organized



Militant/Clay Dennison

Steelworkers picket Hecla Mining Company’s Lucky Friday silver mine in Mullan, Idaho, March 18. Workers voted unanimously to strike against bosses’ concession demands.

Machinists in Local 86 struck Triumph in Spokane in May 2016 when the bosses tried to impose a takeaway contract that included a deeper two-tier wage system, higher health care costs and no pensions for newer workers.

Over \$2,000 was raised for the miners’ union hardship fund. Donations have also come from the Ironworkers union. The Mexican mine workers union sent a message of solidarity.

“Our contract comes up in June and

both the company and union members are looking to see how the outcome at Lucky Eagle will affect us,” Perry Buddenberg, a union member at the Galena mine, told us when we met him going door to door discussing politics and showing workers the *Militant*.

Messages and donations can be sent to USW Local 5114, P.O. Box 427, Mullan, Idaho 83846. More information can be found at the local’s Facebook page.

around the world with ICAP, including the first ever brigade from the U.S.

After joining the mass march in Holguín, brigade members will participate in the Fifth Seminar for Peace and the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases. The seminar is taking place in Guantánamo, near the notorious U.S. naval base that Washington uses to indefinitely imprison and torture so-called enemy combatants. The U.S. government has

occupied the base since 1903.

Attending the seminar is a way of joining with the Cuban people to demand the U.S. get out of Guantánamo. Saleh Waziruddin, a member of the Canadian Network on Cuba executive committee, said 29 people from across Canada have registered so far.

To find out how to sign up or to get more information, write chevolfbrigade@gmail.com or call (647) 787-5207.

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Cost of \$512 includes room, board & transportation in Cuba. Airfare from U.S. and Guantánamo seminar are extra.
Applications due March 30.

For information about how to apply contact: Chicago Cuba Coalition call (312) 952-2618 or email: ICanGoToCuba@gmail.com.

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U.S. Hands Off Korea! Speaker: Jeff Powers, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 675 Hegenberger Rd, Suite 250. Tel.: (510) 686-1351.

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U.S. Hands Off North Korea! Speaker: Dean Hazlewood, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 31, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5.00. 2018 S. Ashland Ave. Tel.: (312) 455-0111.

UNITED KINGDOM Manchester

Brexit Debate: Workers’ Only Interest Is to Overthrow the Dictatorship of Capital. Speaker: Pete Clifford, Communist League candidate for mayor of Greater Manchester. Fri., April 7, 7 p.m. Donation: £2.50. Room 301, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St. M1 2EH. Tel.: (016) 1478-2496.

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—ON THE PICKET LINE—

Australia construction unionists protest attacks on workers

SYDNEY — Tens of thousands of construction workers walked off city building sites nationwide March 9 for a day of action called by the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union. The rallies protested the reinstatement by the federal Liberal government of the Australian Building and Construction Commission, with increased powers to coerce construction unionists and impose fines for industrial action.

Other unionists came to support the CFMEU. One common placard read, “Paramedics support penalty rates” — higher pay for overtime and weekend work. Several speakers opposed the Feb. 23 ruling by a federal arbitration court to reduce these rates for Sundays and public holidays, affecting hundreds of thousands of workers from the retail to hospitality industries.

CFMEU speakers slammed the ABCC for blocking prompt union action on safety measures in what is one of the most dangerous industries.

Tim Macpherson, 32, was crushed to death March 1 when a large metal beam fell on top of him at the Barangaroo Ferry Hub worksite on Sydney Harbour. Last November, an attempted safety inspection of the site by union officials was blocked by the building contractor.

According to the CFMEU, fatalities are running at “over one a week” at building sites across Australia.

In other actions, Western Sydney bus drivers stopped work March 7 for union meetings to discuss stalled negotiations over pay claims. Over 1,000 child care workers marched in protests around the country on International Women’s Day, March 8, to demand an increase in the “gross underpayment” of mostly female workers in the sector.

About 200 unionists joined a Hobart rally sponsored by Unions Tasmania and United Voice March 13, held on the Eight-Hour Day public holiday. The protest was over cuts to special Sunday rates of pay for low-paid workers.

— Ron Poulsen

Rail workers in U.K. strike over safety conditions

LONDON — Some 2,000 members of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union took 24-hour strike action March 13. They are resisting moves by Southern Rail, Merseyrail and Northern Rail to introduce driver-only-operation on their passenger trains.

For workers at Southern in southeast England, this was their 30th stoppage over the past year. “Many of the 120 RMT members here — guards and drivers — have never been on strike be-



Militant photos: above, Doug Cooper; inset, Ron Poulsen

Unionists rally against reducing Sunday pay March 13 in Hobart, Tasmania in Australia. Inset, construction workers in Sydney struck, rallied March 9 as part of nationwide actions for job safety, against government cuts in overtime pay.

fore this dispute” said Chris Rodway, a guard and picket captain at the Barnham depot in West Sussex. “They’ve been moved to take action because of the obvious safety implications of removing the guard.”

On the picket line, guard Zoe Hemes, 32, got into a discussion with a passerby who asked why the strike was on. “One day a school student fell seriously ill on the train,” Hemes told the woman. “I contacted the driver, telling him to stop at the next station to get her emergency

medical attention. Driver-only-operation would have made that impossible.”

The industrial action at Southern has been joined by RMT members in the north of the country. Union members on Merseyrail voted 4-1 for strike action and have been refusing to work overtime on rest days since March 6. Their stoppage paralyzed the network when members of the drivers union ASLEF (Associated Society of Locomotive Steam Enginemen and Firemen) refused to cross picket lines.

“This isn’t about our conditions, it’s about safety,” conductor Chris Latham told Peter Clifford, Communist League candidate for Greater Manchester mayor, when he visited the picket line at Manchester’s Victoria station that day.

“Your action is important for all workers,” Clifford responded. “It shows that it’s only by workers exercising control through our unions that safety can be ensured and jobs defended.”

“This dispute is political” Chris Rodway told the *Militant*. “It’s about trying to weaken the union.”

“Handing all the safety jobs to the driver means you don’t HAVE to have two people on every train before it can leave the station” reports BBC transport correspondent Richard Westcott. “That would shrink the power of the RMT because more trains would be able to run if their guards went on strike in the future.”

— Jonathan Silberman

US board orders cuts for Puerto Rico workers

Continued from front page

cut pensions by at least 10 percent by 2020.

These cuts come on top of cuts imposed over the last decade: layoffs of nearly 25 percent of government workers, the closing of more than 150 schools, sales tax increases and pension cuts. The moves have hammered the working class. More than 1,600 people abandon their homeland for the United States every week.

The Junta demanded Rosselló add further cuts to his original plan. They demanded the “immediate implementation of a furlough program” — cutting between two to four days a month from the work schedule, to reduce government payrolls by at least \$420 million a year, as well as steeper pensions cuts and the elimination of the annual Christmas bonus for public workers.

Under the plan, teachers would face a two-day furlough each month. Juan Hernández told *Primera Hora* that he currently makes \$1,800 a month teaching. If he loses two days pay “What am I going to have left?” he said. Others, including school cafeteria workers, would lose four days pay.

Worried about the response from working people, Rosselló balked, so the board gave him a short-term reprieve. If the colonial regime can come up with \$200 million in additional cuts or income by June 1 and present a plan of “right-sizing personnel measures” by April 30, the furloughs and bonus cut might be put on hold.

At the current rate public workers pension funds will be bone dry by 2022. The fiscal board’s fix? Slash pension costs by 10 percent by 2020 and replace public workers defined-benefit pension plans. Instead, they would have defined-contribution accounts, where workers put their own money into a retirement fund, which is invested in stocks and bonds.

“The money for pensions was used to pay the debt,” Pedro Irene Maymí, president of the CPT union federation, told the *Militant* March 20. “The board’s measures will just make the economic crisis worse.” Maymí calls for a moratorium on debt payment.

“The furlough is ridiculous, that would be living below the poverty line,” Aida Díaz, president of the Association of Teachers of Puerto Rico, said by phone March 17.

Between the possible furlough and pensions cuts, “teachers are telling me, I’m going to go live with my adult children in the United States. At least I’ll have a roof over my head,” Díaz said, just a few hours before she led a march of teachers and school workers in San Juan, against the cuts.

“Workers in the U.S. join their sisters and brothers in Puerto Rico demanding an end to the colonial arrogance of Washington and the disaster it is imposing there,” the SWP’s mayoral candidate, Hart, told the *Militant* March 19. “As I talk to workers on their doorsteps across the city, I urge them to join protests against the Junta, which holds most of its meetings here on Wall Street, and to back Puerto Ricans fighting to throw off the boot of U.S. colonial rule.

“The debt is unpayable,” Hart said. “I demand it be canceled.”

If carried out, the Junta says, Roselló’s plan would make \$800 million a year available to pay on the debt, far less than the \$1.2 billion a year bondholders expect.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



April 3, 1992

Armed clashes between forces supported by the governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan have left scores of people dead and forced tens of thousands to flee Nagorno-Karabakh in recent weeks. Fighting in this predominantly Armenian enclave, located inside Azerbaijan, has intensified since the break up of the Soviet Union last year.

The regimes in the former Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan both claim sovereignty over Nagorno-Karabakh.

Media reports have described the war as part of an “age-old dispute between Christian Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan,” as a *New York Times* article put it. The cause of the conflict is not ethnic or religious differences but the decades of bureaucratic misrule and national oppression in the former Soviet Union.



April 3, 1967

It is the duty of those here in the U.S. who are opposed to the war, to support the position taken by north Vietnam in rejecting Johnson’s negotiations proposal. It is true that under the pressure of the U.S. attack, north Vietnam may eventually be forced to negotiate. But we here inside the U.S., must recognize that the U.S. has no right to impose its will upon Vietnam. To demand that the U.S. negotiate in Vietnam, or to call upon the administration to get behind negotiations proposals of Kennedy or U Thant or anyone else, grants to Johnson a right he does not have, the right to negotiate the future of Vietnam.

The discussion in the press over the exchange of letters between Johnson and Ho highlights the danger for the antiwar movement in demanding that Johnson negotiate to settle the war.



April 4, 1942

CLEVELAND — Stalinist officials of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on March 26 endorsed a War Labor Board decision upholding the firing of four union shop stewards for allegedly “instigating a slowdown” in the Aluminum Corporation of America’s plant here.

The fired union militants, by the admission of the union officials themselves, had resisted company attempts to institute a vicious speedup and pay-cutting system in their division. All four of the fired shop stewards were Negroes.

The most damning part of the Stalinist leaders’ actions is their own admission that reprisal against the four militant job stewards “is the result of an investigation which was originally requested by the union” — that is, the Stalinist officials.

‘Revolution made the impossible a reality’

Cuban revolutionary leader Armando Hart honored at Havana book fair

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN
AND MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA — Armando Hart joined the revolutionary movement in Cuba in 1952 when he was in his early 20s.

One of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution, Hart became a central organizer of the July 26 Movement’s urban underground fighting the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. The underground supplied the Rebel Army commanded by Fidel Castro with arms and provisions and carried out sabotage actions against the police, armed forces and other government targets in the cities. It mobilized a broad network of supporters who raised money and organized propaganda activity in Cuba.

The victorious advance and growing strength of the Rebel Army, combined with a mass insurrection of working people in cities and towns across the country, brought down the tyranny on Jan. 1, 1959, opening the way to Cuba’s socialist revolution. From that day to this, Hart has shouldered central leadership responsibilities in the Communist Party of Cuba, as minister of education and later minister of culture, and in other institutions.

The annual Havana International Book Fair, held here Feb. 9-19, was dedicated to Armando Hart. Above all, he “taught people to believe in themselves,” said writer Graziella Pogolotti, speaking at the main tribute to Hart. His lifelong revolutionary activity was honored at special events almost daily throughout this cultural festival. These events complemented book presentations, panel discussions, exhibits and other activities paying tribute to the historic leadership of Fidel Castro, who died last November.

Today Hart is head of the Martí Program, which promotes the publication and study of the writings of José Martí, leader of Cuba’s wars for independence from Spain. The program organizes social activities reaching out to young people with Martí’s example.

During the fair, a large number of prominent political and cultural figures participated in the panels, book launches



2017 Havana book fair was dedicated to Armando Hart (center, white shirt), a historic leader of the Cuban Revolution. Above, Feb. 18 event on two books that bring to life Hart’s revolutionary leadership and his example for today. From left: Rubiel García, Saiz Brothers Association; Mary-Alice Waters, Socialist Workers Party leader; author Enrique Lacoste; Hart; Eloisa Carreras; Javier Dueñas, Abril publishing house.

and other programs on Armando Hart’s work. In addition to others mentioned in this article, they included Guillermo García, a commander of the Rebel Army; Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, the foremost Cuban writer on the anti-imperialist legacy of Martí; and former Cuban vice president José Ramón Fernández, who was imprisoned with Hart on the Isle of Pines during the struggle against the Batista dictatorship and who in 1961 led the main column that defeated the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. A photo exhibit, “Hart: Passion for Cuba,” was curated by well-known Cuban photographer Roberto Chile.

Hart never set out to write a book, he insists. He has concentrated all his energy and discipline on revolutionary political activity. As part of advancing those goals for 65 years, nonetheless, Hart has written enough to fill a 16-volume collection of his writings, the first six of which were presented at this year’s book fair. Issued by different Cuban publishing houses, these collections have been compiled by researcher and editor Eloisa Carreras, Hart’s wife.

A life of revolutionary activity

“A revolutionary for all times” was the name of the central event paying tribute to Hart’s life work. Speakers at the Feb. 14 panel, held at the Casa de las Américas cultural center, were Fer-

nando Martínez Heredia, director of the Juan Marinello Institute for Cultural Research and a well-known writer on Marxism; Graziella Pogolotti, a prominent theater critic and essayist and long-time leader of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba; and Lesbia Cánovas, honorary president of the Association of Cuban Educators. The meeting was chaired by Ana Sánchez, director of the Center of Martí Studies.

“The practice of politics has been at the center of Hart’s life since he was a youth,” said Martínez Heredia. A founding leader of the July 26 Movement, Hart was “always an outstanding combatant.” He was captured and jailed by the dictatorship three times — in 1954, then in 1957, when he made a bold escape, and again in 1958. Locked behind bars during the final year of the revolutionary war, Hart acted with “exemplary dignity,” Martínez said.

“Hart’s writings during that early stage, published in the underground press, and the letters and speeches from the first year of revolutionary power,” Martínez noted, “are one of the most valuable sources for studying the historic movement that liberated the country and initiated the deepest transformations in the history of the Cuban people.”

After the 1959 victory, “Hart was alongside Fidel in the key political and state bodies, throughout all those glorious days.” He became a leader of the newly forged Communist Party of Cuba, Martínez said, serving as its organization secretary for several years.

“I will never forget Hart’s valuable contributions and the comradely attitude he extended to the group of young revolutionaries I was part of during the 1960s,” Martínez recalled. “I learned a lot from his example and leadership, his ability to listen and discuss,” his dedication to “hard work and attention to detail.”

Hart has written extensively about how, as “a Fidelista,” he became an advocate of Marxism as a “fundamental instrument for creating and developing a new culture,” Martínez said. For Hart, Marxism was a guide to transform society, not “an ornament or a straitjacket.”

That revolutionary course, Martínez said, is the opposite of “the system under which Marxism had been deformed and turned into a

sterile dogma — a detour that prevailed for decades in the world,” referring to what existed in the Soviet Union and its satellite regimes before they collapsed between 1989 and 1991.

What has been achieved through Cuba’s socialist revolution “seemed impossible,” Martínez said. “But this is where Armando Hart was forged — in the fight to turn the impossible into reality.” In face of today’s challenges, “the best tribute young Cubans can pay to Hart today is to emulate him.”

Transformation of education, learning

Lesbia Cánovas, a long-time educator and director of teacher training programs, focused on Hart’s leadership in the transformation of education and learning in Cuba, a transformation made possible by the revolution. Named minister of education at age 28, one of the two youngest in the cabinet, he directed the 1961 literacy campaign, which involved hundreds of thousands of working people. At the heart of that effort was the mobilization of more than 100,000 volunteers — mostly newly recruited teenagers, in their majority women — who went into the countryside and taught 700,000 people to read and write. Cánovas herself, at age 13, was one of those volunteers.

Illiteracy, a scourge of Cuba’s capitalist past, was wiped out within a year. “This past Dec. 22 we commemorated the 55th anniversary of declaring Cuba a Territory Free of Illiteracy,” she said.

The literacy campaign, Cánovas pointed out, was not organized by “experts in teaching methods.” It was prepared and carried out with the support of unions, the women’s federation and other mass organizations.

The expansion of access to education, she noted, was intertwined with other social demands of workers and farmers, such as “the aspirations for a land reform, the demand to create jobs for all and to end unemployment and poverty.”

Another pillar of the measures overseen by Hart, Cánovas said, was the 1962 University Reform, whose aim was to make it possible “for the sons and daughters of working people to enter the universities.”

To be meaningful, “education has to have a real connection with life, with the basic problems of daily living,” she said. In pre-revolutionary Cuba, schools were exclusive institutions isolated from the working class and the lives of the toilers

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Above, page from Spanish-language *Armando Hart: A life, a dream* by Enrique Lacoste, which tells story of Hart’s leadership in July 26 Movement during struggle to overthrow U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. After revolutionary victory, Hart (at center of left panel in cartoon) led 1961 campaign, involving hundreds of thousands, that wiped out illiteracy in Cuba. Right, volunteers on their way to teach in rural areas.



‘Revolutionaries need history that helps find the road forward’

Below are the remarks by Mary-Alice Waters at a Feb. 18 presentation of two books: Armando Hart: Una vida, un sueño and Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952-58 (see accompanying article). Waters is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and president of Pathfinder Press. Copyright © 2017 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Thank you for the introductions, Javier. And on behalf of Pathfinder Press, thank you for the opportunity to join forces with Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists, to present here today both *Armando Hart: Una vida, un sueño* (Armando Hart: a life, a dream) by Enrique Lacoste, and *Aldabonazo* by Armando Hart.

The two titles, very different in format, have one thing in common. They bring to life the political course pursued by the young revolutionary Armando Hart and make his example accessible for new generations today and tomorrow.

Above all, of course, a very warm greeting to compañero Armando and compañera Eloisa [Carreras]. It’s an honor once again to be working with you.

It was out of these same links that the Pathfinder Press edition of *Aldabonazo* was born.

In the year 2000, working together with Abril, and in collaboration with Aleida March, Pathfinder produced a wonderful little book, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*. Pathfinder published it simultaneously in Spanish and English for distribution in the US and internationally, while Abril brought out the same book for distribution here in Cuba.

And Armando Hart wrote the preface.

Comrades from the Socialist Workers Party had the pleasure of meeting Armando and Eloisa for the first time when the book was presented here at the Havana book fair seventeen years ago. I still have a vivid memory of that day in La Cabaña. It was freezing!

That’s when Armando asked Pathfinder if we’d consider publishing a US edition of *Aldabonazo*, an unparalleled

account of the revolutionary struggle that brought down the Batista dictatorship and opened the socialist revolution in our hemisphere. The first Cuban edition had been published three years earlier, in 1997.

After reading it, we told Armando that as much as we would like to, we couldn’t possibly undertake to translate and publish a book with so many never-before-translated articles, leaflets, letters, and other documents of the revolutionary clandestine struggle to overthrow the Batista dictatorship. We simply didn’t have the human resources to do it.

That’s when we experienced firsthand Armando’s qualities as a revolutionary leader. He was not going to take “No” for an answer. We had several conversations here in Havana, and even one in New York when Armando was at the United Nations for some occasion. The truth is, we didn’t want to say no either.

In the end, we came to agreement that Pathfinder would publish an abbreviated version, with fewer documents perhaps, drawn from the invaluable archive that Armando and Eloisa modestly call Armando’s “papers.” We proposed a book of no more than 150 pages and asked him to suggest a way to cut the manuscript to come within that limit.

Being the experienced political tactician he is, Armando demurred, saying, “You’ll be better judges than I am of what is useful in the book. You should make the selection.” He offered to entertain any suggestions we made.

The outcome is the book we have here today — a little over 400 pages! And different from any edition that came before or after it. This one has all the historic documents of the struggle initially selected by Armando incorporated into the chronological flow of his account, chapter by chapter, printed in readable size type. Earlier editions simply photographed the documents and placed them all together at the end, as a tantalizing graphic appendix. They were largely unreadable.

In addition to these four hundred pages, the Pathfinder edition includes another twenty eight of magnificent photos that bring to life the events recounted — even for young workers and students in North America who have never visited Cuba and know little of its history.

I’ve taken the time to tell you this story because it is the best way I can think

of to emphasize the importance of what you will find in *Aldabonazo*. The more we absorbed the value of Armando’s account of the clandestine revolutionary struggle, and how it was enriched by the leaflets, press accounts, and other documents produced in the heat of life-and-

death battles, the more we knew that he — and Eloisa — were correct. We had to find a way to publish *Aldabonazo* in full, with all its richness, to make it available, in both English and Spanish, for new generations of revolutionary

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‘Hart broke down barriers, gave hope for the future’



Andrés Gómez, leader of Cuban-American group Antonio Maceo Brigade, speaking at Feb. 18 book presentation. Front row center, Cuban Minister of Culture Abel Prieto.

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN AND MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA — For Cuban-Americans like himself, said Andrés Gómez, encountering Armando Hart in the mid-1970s broke down barriers and gave them hope for the future.

Gómez was speaking from the audience following the presentation of Hart’s book *Aldabonazo* at the Havana book fair. He is the coordinator of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a Cuban-American organization that opposes Washington’s policies against the Cuban Revolution.

In 1977, he said, he took part in a trip to Cuba of 55 young Cuban-Americans, organized by the newly founded Antonio Maceo Brigade. It was the first such group to be invited by the revolutionary government since 1959.

“We had left Cuba as children with parents who had rejected the revolution,” Gómez said. Because of that history, the trip was controversial, both among Cubans in the United States and among many on the island.

Armando Hart chaired one of the discussions the visiting youth took part in. “I asked whether it would ever be possible for people like us to return to Cuba to live — something that was not allowed at the time,” Gómez said.

Hart replied with a story about the children of his own brother, Enrique, who died fighting in the revolutionary struggle. In the early days following the triumph of the revolution, Hart became very close with his brother’s two young sons. One day they were gone. Their mother had taken them to the United States, and he’d had no contact with them for years.

“Hart told us he had always hoped that some day, like us, they’d want to return to Cuba,” Gómez recalled. “I’ll never forget his response and the impact it had on us.”

In subsequent years the Antonio Maceo Brigade organized many more trips to Cuba.

The example of the Cuban Revolution for today

Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground

By Armando Hart \$25
Also in Spanish

Che Guevara Talks to Young People

Introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. Preface by Armando Hart \$15

Also in Spanish, Greek

Cuba and Angola: The War for Freedom

By Harry Villegas “Pombo” \$7
Also in Spanish

See distributors on page 4 or visit:

www.pathfinderpress.com

Cuban revolutionary leader

Continued from page 6
in town and country.

Hart led the effort, Cánovas said, “to make the school the most important community cultural center ... to open the school to its surroundings.”

Hart as minister of culture

As a revolutionary leader, said Graziella Pogolotti, Hart has always been known as someone “with an open mind,” someone who understood “the essence of Fidel’s ideas.” That, she noted, made him a good choice both when he served as the Communist Party’s organization secretary and then as Cuba’s minister of culture.

As organization secretary from 1965 to 1970, Hart helped lead “the work to build the party under extremely difficult circumstances — which I will not go into here — of conflicts and confrontations with sectarianism,” she said. “Following Fidel’s lead, Hart was able to build a party of labor, above sectarianism,” she added. “That was the party Fernando Martínez and I both joined on the same night in the Chaplin movie theater.”

In 1976, when Hart was named the first minister of culture, it was “a moment of great happiness,” Pogolotti said. “We had just been through some difficult times, times we remember today as being painted gray.”

During the first half of the 1970s, which later came to be known as the “gray half-decade,” the official National Council of Culture implemented policies against many Cuban writers, artists, and others deemed “politically unreliable,” preventing them from being published or from having the materials and conditions necessary to work. This marked a reversal of policies championed from the beginning by Cuba’s revolutionary leadership.

During those years, for example, the University of Havana’s philosophy department, headed by Fernando Martínez Heredia, was closed, along with the magazine *Pensamiento Crítico* (Critical Thinking) edited by Martínez. “Socialist realism” — imposed in the Soviet Union since the 1930s by the Stalinist regime in Moscow — made inroads in Cuba, especially in literature, theater, and film.

In 1976 the dissolution of the council and creation of the Ministry of Culture, with Hart as minister, initiated a “radical transformation of this situation,” Pogolotti said.

As the cultural policies promoted by the revolutionary leadership were re-established, Hart took on “the delicate task of healing wounds, of restoring the confidence of many writers and artists who had lived through bitter moments during those earlier years.” He helped fight “prejudice against writers and artists.”

Hart was a visible figure in the revolutionary leadership’s efforts to widen access to culture, said Pogolotti. He worked tirelessly to promote “the 10 Basic Cultural Institutions” — libraries, bookstores, art galleries, museums, movie theaters, literary workshops, theater groups, choirs, bands and community cultural centers. “Hart wanted to convince every single local official in Cuba of the important role of culture,” she remarked with humor.

Speaking a few days earlier on *Mesa Redonda*, a national TV round table discussion, Pogolotti said that under Hart’s leadership the Ministry of Culture en-

couraged “creativity, initiative, courage and, above all, the ability to listen.”

A similar point was made by Abel Prieto, Cuba’s current minister of culture, also speaking on *Mesa Redonda*. “Hart’s entry into the Ministry of Culture,” Prieto said, “undoubtedly marked the return to Fidel’s cultural policy as enunciated in his [1961 speech] ‘Words to the Intellectuals.’” (The speech can be found in the Dec. 21, 1998, *Militant*.)

For new generation of revolutionists

One meeting that was part of the special events honoring Hart was a Feb. 18 presentation of two books. One was *Armando Hart: Una vida, un sueño* (A life, a dream), a comic-book-style biography of the revolutionary leader’s early life aimed at young Cubans. Issued by Casa Editora Abril, publishing house of the Union of Young Communists, it was written and illustrated by Enrique Lacoste, a cartoonist for the political humor magazine *Palante*.

The other title, written by Hart, was *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952-58*. Long out of print in Cuba, Hart’s account is published in both English and Spanish by U.S.-based Pathfinder Press.

On the platform were Armando Hart; Eloisa Carreras; Rubiel García, president of the Saiz Brothers Association, a nationwide organization of young artists; Lacoste; and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Aldabonazo* and president of Pathfinder Press. Javier Dueñas, director of Abril, chaired the event.

Among those in the audience were minister of culture Abel Prieto, Fernando González and Antonio Guerrero. González and Guerrero are two of the Cuban Five revolutionaries who spent more than a decade and a half in U.S. prisons for their actions protecting Cuba

History that helps find the road forward

Continued from page 7

fighters in the US and around the world.

In referring to the *value* of the account you will find in *Aldabonazo*, I mean one thing above all. And I’ll borrow Armando’s words to express it.

Meaningful history for revolutionists, Hart wrote in his preface to Luis Buch’s *The Cuban Revolutionary Government: Origins and First Steps*,¹ is history “that will be most useful in finding the road forward.”

That is precisely what *Aldabonazo* gives us.



The weapons needed by working people in the United States, as well as elsewhere around the world, are those that will politically arm a mass vanguard for the class battles ahead of us in the twenty-first century — battles that must be led and will determine the future, even the survival, of humanity. Like yourselves, we know we do not fight alone. But we also know that the hardest and most decisive battles are those that must be fought, and will be fought, within the belly of the beast.

That’s why we need to understand the Cuban Revolution, with all its contradictions and complexities. We need truthful history as told by those who led. History

1 *Gobierno revolucionario cubano: génesis y primeros pasos* by Luis Buch Rodríguez, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana 1999 (Spanish only).



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs Archives

Armando Hart (in dark clothes) with Faustino Pérez during their 1957 trial for organizing revolutionary underground in Havana, which led workers, youth to fight the tyranny.

from planned attacks by U.S.-based counterrevolutionary groups.

Lacoste said his book, the first of two parts, is aimed at reaching a young audience. In a popular style, it tells the story of the Cuban leader’s early study of Martí’s revolutionary legacy and how as a university student he joined the fight against the Batista dictatorship. The text and drawings depict Hart’s recruitment to the July 26 Movement and his participation in the urban underground through the Nov. 30, 1956, armed action in Santiago in support of the *Granma* expedition led by Fidel Castro.

Waters explained how Pathfinder’s edition of *Aldabonazo* had come about through collaboration — going back 17 years — with Hart, Eloisa Carreras, and Editora Abril. (See Waters’ full remarks on page 7.)

“The more we absorbed the *value* of Armando’s account of the clandestine revolutionary struggle, and how it was enriched by the leaflets, press accounts

and other documents produced in the heat of the life-and-death battles,” Waters said, “the more we knew [we had to] make it available, in both English and Spanish, for new generations of revolutionary fighters in the U.S. and around the world.”

For revolutionists, meaningful history is history “that will be most useful in finding the road forward,” Hart once wrote, as Waters reminded participants.

“And that,” she said, “is precisely what *Aldabonazo* gives us.”

Pathfinder published *Aldabonazo* because it is part of the political arsenal needed by working people in the United States and around the world. We need it to “politically arm a mass vanguard for the class battles ahead of us in the 21st century.”

Participants at this and other gatherings bought 75 copies of *Aldabonazo*, every one Pathfinder had. Many also picked up copies of *Armando Hart: Una vida, un sueño*.

as told by those who know from the inside how each action was weighed, how each decision — sometimes difficult — was made, how each painful failure was learned from. And that’s what we find in this book.

To cite just one example. Even those of us acquainted with Fidel’s repudiation of the so-called Miami Pact in 1957, including from Che’s account in *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, we understood it better after reading Armando’s account in *Aldabonazo*.² You feel a burst of revolutionary energy just reading the opening sentence of Armando’s December 1957 cover letter to a leader of the urban underground — the *llano* — accompanying Fidel’s declaration.

“*Here goes the depth charge*,” Armando wrote!

A little more than a year later, as he says at the end of that chapter, the revo-

lution had triumphed.

The Cuban Revolution will never be copied. But it must be understood by those who seek to emulate its course.

That is why *Aldabonazo* strives to convey the “fabric” of history, as Hart writes. That’s why we published it. And it explains who we published it for.



I want to end by tying this to the political battles before us in the United States today.

The presidential election that took place a few months ago in the US registered the blows that have been dealt since the 2008 world financial crisis to the stability of the two-party system through which the US capitalist class has governed for almost a century. Neither party will emerge intact.

The outcome of the 2016 presidential election was settled by the protest votes of significant layers of the working class who face the devastation, the *carnage*, that Jack Barnes, the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, documents in one of the other books we presented here at the Havana book fair, *The Clintons’ Anti-Working-Class Record: Why Washington Fears Working People*. That devastation has taken an increasing toll on the lives of workers and working farmers in the US over the last twenty-five years.

In his inaugural address four weeks ago, Trump boasted that “this Ameri-

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SWP: Workers need our own party

Continued from front page

funded public works program to build schools, hospitals, daycare centers, repair crumbling infrastructure and make other things working people need. This can put people to work at union scale across the country and cut across the division in our class between employed and unemployed, putting us in a better position to unite in solidarity and fight our common enemy — the propertied capitalist rulers.

We demand amnesty for all immigrants in the U.S. and an end to the raids and deportations. We oppose all government “tests” for immigrants based on religion, nationality or political views.

There are growing calls for workers to take the day off work and march against attacks on immigrant workers on May Day. Join these actions and organize them if one hasn’t been called in your area.

We’re part of the fight against Jew-hatred and rising attacks against Muslims and mosques. The bosses aim to divert us into blaming other workers for the crisis we face, to turn us against each other, instead of uniting against their immoral capitalist system, built on exploitation, oppression and war.

As their economic crisis deepens, the capitalist rulers are driven to sharper competition against each other. Trade wars and competition for markets and resources are growing. In this world, conflicts can have unintended consequences and disputes can lead to war. The Socialist Workers Party demands Washington get all its troops out of the Middle East and the Pacific.

In this crisis-ridden reality, political polarization is growing. In Berkeley, California, and Middlebury, Vermont, we see liberal and middle-class radical groups seeking to shut down those they disagree with, breaking up political meetings and carrying out assaults.

But this is a deadly

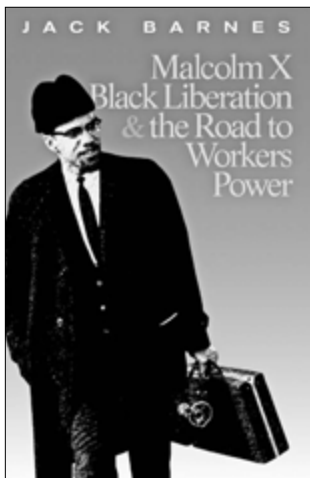
threat to the working class — busting up meetings and physical violence shut down political space and open the door for the rulers to further restrict our political rights. We need the widest political space possible to discuss the class reasons for the crisis we face and debate the road forward.

There is an example we can emulate — the revolution workers and farmers made in Cuba. They faced a brutal dictatorship that was backed by the unparalleled might of U.S. imperialism just 90 miles away. Led by Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement, they fought and won. Working people were transformed, gaining the capacity to take political power and run their own country.

They mobilized to abolish illiteracy, to run industry, and to beat off attacks and a U.S. invasion at the Bay of Pigs. They extended the hand of solidarity internationally, from the Congo to Angola, from Vietnam to Bolivia and Venezuela. They led in conquering the Ebola epidemic in western Africa.

This year, for the first time, people in the U.S. can join a May Day brigade to Cuba, to learn about the revolution and express solidarity. I’ve signed up to go and urge you to consider joining me.

We can make a revolution here. Join the Socialist Workers Party. Help us campaign this spring, broadening the reach of the *Militant* and books from Pathfinder Press, and winning contributions to the \$112,000 Militant Fighting Fund.



Malcolm X, Black Liberation, & the Road to Workers Power

“This is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. A book about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United States ... and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution.” — Jack Barnes

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‘We need history that helps find road forward’

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can carnage stops now.” But that’s false. It won’t stop. There are no capitalist policies that can achieve that, and there is no imperialist politician who can change what’s going to happen. The capitalist mode of production, with its own laws of motion, is stronger than any of them or all of them together. And until we — working people — are conscious enough and strong enough to put an end to the oppressors’ and exploiters’ system, the humble the world over will continue to pay for their crisis with *our* misery and blood.

As a result of these conditions, there is today greater openness in the US working class than at any moment in our lifetimes to discuss the broadest social questions and political issues. For communists that means growing opportunities along with enormous responsibilities.

The truth is that contrary to the picture painted by the liberal hysteria of the mass media, there is less racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism among working people than ever in US history. Contrary to the notion that Trump represents some kind of incipient fascism, there is more space, not less, to fight for organizing the unorganized, to demand amnesty for foreign-born workers, to mobilize against police brutality, to advance the struggle for women’s rights, and to oppose Washington’s end-*less* wars.

And most important, there is more space to win young workers and other youth to this perspective. To build a party, a communist party, within the vanguard of the working class.

It is along that road that the men and women ca-

pable of making a socialist revolution in the US will be forged, as they were here in Cuba — as we see unfold across the pages of *Aldabonazo*.



In the final chapter of the book, *compañero* Hart tells a story about Col. Ramón Barquín, one of the officers of Batista’s army imprisoned on the Isle of Pines for leading a military conspiracy against the dictatorship.

When those incarcerated there learned of the successful invasion of Las Villas province in central Cuba by two columns under the command of Camilo [Cienfuegos] and Che [Guevara], Barquín insisted: “That’s not possible. It’s not militarily feasible.”

To which a *compañero* replied, “Colonel, they did it because they didn’t know it was not possible.”

That is the example for which Washington has never forgiven the people of Cuba. And why it will never do so.

Because those words convey the political confidence and courage the Cuban Revolution continues to give those on the front lines of revolutionary struggles everywhere.

And this explains how proud we are to have had a small but meaningful part in publishing and using *Aldabonazo*.

We want to say thank you to all the *compañeros* at this year’s book fair who’ve helped put a spotlight on Armando’s leadership in the revolutionary struggle since he was a youth.

And thanks to you, Armando, for your enduring and ongoing example.

US troops in Syria

Continued from front page

The propertied rulers in the U.S. are escalating their military firepower. The Pentagon is sending substantial reinforcements of U.S. troops to Syria, drawn from the nearly 5,000 Marines and paratroopers now being deployed to Kuwait. These troops would join Washington’s warplanes, attack helicopters, artillery and some 1,000 Marines, Rangers and special operations forces already operating alongside the SDF.

Though President Donald Trump won election by promising to keep the U.S. out of foreign wars, as well as campaigning in the name of jobs and economic gains for working people, his administration has put forward a new draft budget that would sharply increase military spending by \$52 billion this year alone.

Iranian-backed forces and troops from the Assad regime are also converging on Raqqa. And Ankara and their Free Syrian Army forces are trying to find a way to elbow in on the fight.

In an interview posted on Syria’s state news agency SANA March 11, Assad described Washington’s troops in Syria as “invaders.”

On March 17, Israeli warplanes crossed Syrian airspace to bomb a weapons convoy for Hezbollah forces. The Assad regime fired anti-aircraft missiles at Israel’s jets. The Israeli military shot down one of the Syrian missiles and denied Syrian army claims that it had shot down an Israeli jet. Debris was reported in Jordan, 12 miles from the Israeli and Syrian borders.

Ankara seeks to bolster influence

Ankara, which has dropped its demand that Assad step down, views the Kurds as its biggest problem. There are some 30 million Kurds divided between Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran — the largest nationality without its own homeland in the world.

Ankara’s goal is to prevent the YPG from linking the 20,000 square miles of Syrian territory it controls along the Syrian-Turkish border with the fight by Kurds in Turkey for autonomy.

Ankara invaded Syria last year, seeking to prevent Kurds in cantons they control in the north-eastern and northwestern parts of the country from uniting. Working with Free Syrian Army troops, Turkish forces were seeking to take Manbij, some 70 miles from Raqqa.

Moscow brokered a deal between the YPG and their Syrian allies in Manbij for Assad regime troops to occupy nearby towns. And Washington sent troops to Manbij as a signal to Ankara to keep out.

Turkey is the third largest country in NATO, with a population of 79 million and close to half a million military personnel. It shares Incirlik Air Base with U.S. military forces, who control “a significant number of nuclear weapons” there.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has called for a referendum April 16 to concentrate more power in his hands. It would make permanent many of the regime’s emergency powers since an attempted military coup last year. Since then some 110,000 civil servants have been fired and over 37,000 people arrested.

Erdogan sent government ministers to Europe to try and rally a big vote from the millions of Turks living there, where support for his regime is greater than inside Turkey. This is especially true in Turkey’s Kurdish regions, where opposition to Erdogan is widespread.

The Dutch government took the unprecedented step of blocking two Turkish ministers from entering the country. Similar meetings were prevented in Austria, Belgium, Germany and Sweden. Erdogan then called the governments of Germany and the Netherlands fascist and Nazi-like.

This unprecedented breakdown of normal capitalist diplomatic relations can actually work in Erdogan’s favor, stoking a higher turnout from nationalist forces angered by the European regimes’ treatment of Turkish government representatives.

Workers across Turkey are being battered by the consequences of the world capitalist economic crisis. Youth unemployment is running at 21 percent. And in a December report that many agree understates the real extent of the carnage, the Confederation of Merchants and Craftsmen said over 6,000 workers have been killed on the job in the last five years.

Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the underlying issues of Kurdish oppression and working-class politics will not go away in a region wracked with war.